TRIAL OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BY THE

Great Statesmen of the Republic.

A COUNCIL OF THE PAST

ON THE

TYRANNY OF THE PRESENT.

The Spirit of the Constitution on the Bench—Abraham Lincoln, Prisoner at the Bar, his own Counsel.

[REPORTED EXPRESSLY FOR THE NEW YORK METROPOLITAN RECORD.]

NEW YORK:

OFFICE OF THE METROPOLITAN RECORD, No. 424 BROOME STREET.

1867.

TRIAL OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BY THE

Great Statesmen of the Republic.

A COUNCIL OF THE PAST

ON THE

TYRANNY OF THE PRESENT.

The Spirit of the Constitution on the Bench—Abraham Lincoln, Prisoner at the Bar, his own Counsel.

[REPORTED EXPRESSLY FOR THE NEW YORK METROPOLITAN RECORD.]

NEW YORK:

OFFICE OF THE METROPOLITAN RECORD, No. 424 BROOME STREET.

1867.

TO THE READER.

The "Trial of Abraham Lincoln" first appeared in the columns of the METROPOLITAN RECORD AND VINDICATOR in 1863, in the very height of the war. It was, however, partially suppressed; but the Editor of the RECORD, by whom it was written, deems the present a peculiarly appropriate and opportune time for its reappearance.

TRIAL OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BY THE

GREAT STATESMEN OF THE REPUBLIC.

It was reported some few weeks since that the present unworthy successor of Washington, the Abolition President, Abraham Lincoln, had become a convert to spiritualism, and that he had recently held a conversation in the White House with the departed spirits of certain great men of the Revolution, with whose opinions upon the ultimate issue of the war he desired to make himself acquainted. The particulars of that spiritualistic confab have not been published, nor have we been informed of the result of its deliberations. We hope, however, that the great rail-splitter was satisfied with the interview.

Since then, it was the good fortune of the Editor of the RECORD to have been present at a most re-

markable trial that took place not many nights ago in the principal apartment of the Presidential mansion at Washington. It is unnecessary that we should explain to our readers how we managed to be present on that occasion. It is sufficient to know that we were there, and that while there we were witness to a scene that will remain indelibly impressed upon our memory. The spacious apartment had been converted into a grand court-room, and preparations were being made for a trial of more than ordinary importance.

On looking around the court we beheld a number of distinguished historical characters; men whose faces were rendered familiar from the portraits which we had seen in books and elsewhere. Prominent among them was one countenance, which no man having once seen could ever forget. It was that of George Washington, the father of the American Union, who was surrounded by the great statesmen of the Revolution and by others of a still later date. Never before in the history of the world had such an august council ever assembled. What could have brought them together at such a time, and in such a place? They had assembled for the trial of the present incumbent of the Presidential chair on charges of the gravest

and most serious character. These charges were numerous, and were brought out in the course of the examination, which was conducted before the Spirit of the Constitution, who occupied the bench of Justice. Immediately confronting the august assemblage was the figure of a man whose lineaments have become painfully familiar to the people. This figure was the representation of Abraham Lincoln, and from the expression of conscious guilt visible upon his countenance, it was evident that he occupied the position of the criminal at the bar. He was allowed the services of a counsel to conduct his defense, but on intimating his desire to act as his own counsel he was granted that rivilege.

The Spirit of the Constitution announced that the trial of the culprit would now proceed, whereupon the venerable form of the Father of his Country arose in the midst of the spirits of the great men by whom he was surrounded, and proceeded to read the following indictment against his last and most unworthy successor.

"Abraham Lincoln is herein charged with treasonable intent, purposes, and designs, in having committed the following unconstitutional acts in the course of his administration :

1. In having declared war against independent and sovereign States under the pretence of repossessing himself of certain forts and other property seized and held by said States.

2. In having arrested citizens of the United States, and incarcerated them in Government bastiles, without process of law.

3. In having suppressed the liberty of speech, thereby denying to the citizen the Constitutional right of criticizing the acts of his Administration.

4. In having prohibited and stopped the publication of certain newspapers for the exercise of the same right referred to in the preceding charge.

5. In having placed the military above the civil power, as shown in the establishment of martial law over portions of the country which were not embraced within the theatre of war.

6. In overthrowing State sovereignty, as in the case of Virginia, the integrity of which was violated by the erection of the so-called State of Kanawha within its limits.

7. In having approved, indorsed, and partially carried into execution the unconstitutional act of Congress known as the Confiscation Bill.

8. In having approved of the infamous law known as the Conscription Act, which was not only subversive of the Constitution, but violative of State sovereignty.

9. In having attempted to carry into execution the Emancipation Act, thereby violating the most sacred guarantees of the Constitution.

(The indictment embraced a great many other charges, but those we have enumerated were the most important.)

After the reading of the foregoing, the Spirit of the Constitution, officiating as Supreme Judge in the case, notified the prisoner that the Court was prepared to hear his defense, whereupon the prisoner, Abraham Lincoln, arose and addressed the Court.

We should remark, however, that at various points in the course of his defense he was frequently interrupted by some one of the many great statesmen who had assembled to witness and take part in the trial.

The following is a verbatim report of the proceedings :

Abraham Lincoln.—I have been accused of violating the Constitution ; but if I have done so, it has been from the sole and earnest desire to restore the Union.

Stephen A. Douglas.—I don't understand how a man can claim to be a friend of the Union, and yet be in favor of war upon ten millions of people in the Union. You can not cover it up much longer under the pretext of love for the Union. War is disunion, certain, inevitable, final, and irrepressible. Peace is the only policy that can save the country.*

Abraham Lincoln.—It was this desire to preserve the

* Douglas' last speech in the United States Senate.

integrity of the Republic that rendered it a matter of absolute necessity to put a stop to the assaults that were being made upon the Government by certain parties whom I regarded as friendly to the rebels.

Daniel Webster.—Free speech is a home-bred right, a fireside privilege. It has ever been enjoyed in every house, cottage, and cabin in the nation. It is not to be drawn into controversy. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air and walking on the earth. It is a right to be maintained in peace and in war. It is a right which can not be invaded without destroying constitutional liberty. Hence this right should be guarded and protected by the freemen of this country with a jealous care unless they are prepared for chains and anarchy.*

Abraham Lincoln.—The great cause of all our trouble is slavery, and we can never expect to have peace until that institution is abolished.

Henry Clay.—Abolitionism! With abolitionists the rights of property are nothing; the deficiency of the powers of the general government is nothing; the acknowledged and incontestable powers of the States are nothing; a dissolution of the Union and the overthrow of a government in which are concentrated the hopes of the civilized world are nothing; a single idea has taken possession of their minds,

† Great oration of Daniel Webster on free speech in 1814.

and onward they pursue it, overlooking all barriers, reckless and regardless of all consequences.*

Abraham Lincoln.—If every man was allowed to express his opinions the prosecution of the war for the Union would be impossible. The government is obliged to have recourse to such measures if it would preserve its own existence.

John Hancock.—It is to the last degree vicious and infamous to attempt to support a government which manifestly tends to render the persons and property of the governed insecure. Some boast of being friends to government; I am a friend to righteous government, to a government founded upon the principles of reason and justice; but I glory in publicly avowing my eternal enmity to tyranny.†

Abraham Lincoln.—I found it necessary to suspend the operation of portions of the Constitution the better to enable me to carry on the war without embarrassment. I thought that the people would be willing to relinquish some of their constitutional rights for a time if their liberties could thereby be preserved in the future.

---

* Speech of Henry Clay against the insidious policy of the abolitionists.

† From the speech of John Hancock, delivered at Boston in 1774, on the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the Boston massacre of 1770.

Patrick Henry.—Is the relinquishment of the trial by jury and the liberty of the press necessary for your liberty? Will the abandonment of the most sacred rights tend to the security of your liberty? Liberty, the greatest of all earthly blessings! give us that precious jewel, and you may take every thing else. The first thing I have at heart is American liberty; the second thing is American union.*

Abraham Lincoln.—I endeavored to get along in the prosecution of the war for the Union, but finding that the Constitution interfered with it, I was obliged, as a military necessity, to suspend its action.

Gouverneur Morris.—I love the Constitution, and I love it because I consider it as the bond of our Union; because in my soul I believe that on it depends our harmony and our peace; that, without it, we should soon be plunged in all the horrors of civil war; that this country would be deluged with the blood of its inhabitants, and a brother's hand raised against the bosom of a brother.†

Abraham Lincoln.—What was I to do in the midst of civil war? I found my hands tied by the checks of the Constitution, and I was forced to disregard them. I could not rely altogether upon the people.

---

* Speech of Patrick Henry on the Federal Constitution.

† Speech of Gouverneur Morris in the United States Senate on the 14th of January, 1802, on an act to provide for the more convenient organization of the Courts of the United States.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.—The confidence of the people will easily be gained by a good administration. This is the true touchstone.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.—I must insist, in my own defense, that without force the Union can not be preserved. And every law such as the Conscription act and the Emancipation measure must be enforced.

JOHN C. CALHOUN.—The law must be enforced! The imperial edict must be executed! It is under such sophistry, couched in general terms, without looking to the limitations which must ever exist in the practical exercise of power, that the most cruel and despotic acts ever have been covered. It was such sophistry as this that cast Daniel into the lions' den and the three Innocents into the fiery furnace. Under the same sophistry the bloody edicts of Nero and Caligula were executed. The law must be enforced! Yes, the law imposing the "tea tax must be executed." This was the very argument which impelled Lord North and his administration to that mad career which forever separated us from the British crown. In the same spirit, we are told the Union must be preserved, without regard to the means. And how is it proposed to preserve the Union? By force? Does any man is his senses believe that this beautiful structure, this harmonious aggregate of States, produced by the joint consent of all,

---

* Alexander Hamilton's speech in the New York Convention in 1788.

can be preserved by force? Its very introduction would be certain destruction of this Federal Union. No, no! You can not keep the States united in their Constitutional and Federal bonds by force. Force may indeed hold the parts together, but such Union would be the bond between master and slave, a Union of exaction on one side and of unqualified obedience on the other. Disguise it as you may, the contest is one between power and liberty. * * Never was there a controversy in which more important consequences were involved, not excepting that between Persia and Greece, decided by the battles of Marathan, Platæa, and Salamis, which gave ascendency to the genius of Europe over that of Asia, and which in its consequences has continued to affect the destiny of so large a portion of the world, even to this day. In the great conflict between Greece and Persia, between European and Asiatic polity and civilization, the very question between the federal and consolidated forms of government was involved. The Asiatic governments from the remotest time, with some exceptions on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, have been based on the principle of consolidation, which considers the whole community as but a unit, and consolidates its powers in a central point. The opposite principle has prevailed in Europe. Greece throughout all her States was based on a federal system—all were united in one common but loose bond, and the governments of the several states partook for the most part of a complex organization, which distributed political power among different members of the community. * * Has reason fled

from our borders? Have we ceased to reflect? It is madness to suppose the Union can be preserved by force.*

James Madison.—The more I reflect on the use of force the more I doubt the practicability, the justice, and the efficacy of it when applied to a people collectively and not individually. A union of the States containing such an ingredient seems to provide for its own destruction. The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound.†

Abraham Lincoln.—Without force it is impossible to preserve the government. The military, when necessary, must sustain the civil power.

Alex. Hamilton.—How can this force be exerted on the States collectively? It is impossible. It amounts to a war between the parties. Foreign powers, also, will not be idle spectators. They will interpose; the confusion will increase, and a dissolution of the Union will ensue.‡

Colonel Mason.—The most jarring elements, fire and water, are not more incompatible than such a strange mix-

---

* Speech of John C. Calhoun in 1833 against the Force Bill.

† Speech of Madison in the Federal Convention that framed the Constitution. See Madison Papers, vol. ii., p. 761.

‡ Speech of Hamilton in the same Convention. See Madison Papers, vol. ii., p. 892.

ture of civil liberty and military execution. Will the militia march from one State to another for the purpose of coercion? If they do, will not the citizens of invaded States assist one another, until they arise as one man and shake off what they will denounce as the hated Union altogether. If you subjugate them, how are you to hold them under a Constitution that is to be imposed to ensure domestic tranquillity and promote the general welfare?*

Abraham Lincoln.—Am I, then, to be invested with no power for the suppression of rebellion?

Elbridge Gerry.—I am against letting loose the myrmidons of the United States on a State without its own consent.†

Abraham Lincoln.—There can be no union unless the State governments sustain the General Government to the fullest extent in putting down disobedient and refractory States.

Elbridge Gerry.—Let us, then, at once destroy the State governments, have an executive for life, or hereditary, and then there will be some consistency in giving full powers to the General Government; but, as the State

---

* Speech of Mr. Mason, of Virginia, in same Convention. Madison Papers, vol. ii., pp. 914-15.

† See Madison Papers, vol. iii., from pp. 1349 to 1353

must not be abolished, I wonder at the attempts that are made to give powers that are inconsistent with their existence. I warn you against pushing the experiment too far. Some people will support a plan of vigorous government at every risk. Others, of a more democratic cast, will oppose it with equal determination, and a civil war may be produced by the conflict.*

Abraham Lincoln.—In my endeavors to sustain the Constitution, it is possible that I have transcended the powers with which that instrument has invested me; but I have done so to maintain the Union and the Constitution.

Andrew Jackson.—But the Constitution can not be maintained, nor the Union preserved, in opposition to the public feeling, by the mere exertion of the coercive powers confided to the General Government; the foundations must be laid in the affections of the people, in the security it gives to life, liberty, character, and property in every quarter of the country, and in the fraternal attachment which the citizens of the several States bear to one another, as members of *one* political family mutually contributing to promote the happiness of each other.†

Abraham Lincoln.—If the Union be the only bond by which the sovereignty of the States is to be preserved, then

---

* See Madison Papers, vol. iii., from pp. 1402 to 1408.

† Jackson's Farewell Address, Washington, March 3, 1837.

the States themselves must abandon temporarily a portion of their power—more than is granted even in the Constitution—to attain so desirable an end as the preservation of the republic.

Andrew Jackson.—The legitimate authority of the Government is abundantly sufficient for all the purposes for which it was created ; and its powers being expressly enumerated there can be no justification for claiming any thing beyond them. Every attempt to exercise power beyond these limits should be promptly and firmly opposed ; for one evil example will lead to other measures still more mischievous ; and if the principle of constructive powers, or supposed advantages, or temporary circumstances, shall ever be permitted to justify the assumption of a power not given by the Constitution, the General Government will, before long, absorb all the powers of legislation, and you will have, in effect, but one consolidated Government. From the extent of our country, its diversified interests, different pursuits, and different habits, it is too obvious for argument that a single consolidated Government would be wholly inadequate to watch over and protect its interests ; and every friend of our free institutions should always prepare to maintain, unimpaired and in full vigor, the rights and sovereignty of the States.*

Abraham Lincoln.—It is impossible for this government to exist half slave and half free. The institution of

* Jackson's Farewell Address. Washington, March 3, 1837.

slavery must, therefore, go down. It is inhuman, and as an evil should be eradicated.

Andrew Jackson.—Each State has the unquestionable right to regulate its own internal concerns according to its own pleasure; and while it does not interfere with the rights of the people of other States, or the rights of the Union, every State must be the sole judge of the measures proper to secure the safety of its citizens and promote their happiness; and all efforts on the part of the people of the States to cast odium on their institutions, and all measures calculated to disturb their rights of property, or to put in jeopardy their peace and internal tranquillity, are in direct opposition to the spirit in which the Union was founded, and must endanger its safety. Motives of philanthropy may be assigned to their unwarrantable interference, and weak men may persuade themselves for a moment that they are laboring in the cause of humanity, and asserting the rights of the human race; but every one, upon sober reflection, will see that nothing but mischief can come from these improper assaults upon the feelings and rights of others. Rest assured that the men found busy in the work of discord are not worthy of confidence, and deserve the strongest reprobation.*

Abraham Lincoln.—It was the Union that created the States, and, therefore, the States being subordinate, must

* Jackson's Farewell Address, Washington, March 3, 1837.

submit to the authority and power of the General Government.

Alexander Hamilton.—The States can never lose their powers till the whole people of America are robbed of their liberties. These must go together. They must support each other or meet a common fate. The Constitution is framed upon truly republican principles, and as it is expressly designed for a common protection and the general welfare of the United States, it must be utterly repugnant to this Constitution to subvert the State governments or oppress the people. The coercion of States is one of the maddest projects that was ever devised. A failure of compliance will never be confined to a single State. This being the case, can we suppose it wise to hazard a civil war? It would be a nation at war with itself. Can any reasonable man be well disposed toward a government that makes war and carnage the only means of supporting itself—a government that can exist only by the sword? Every such war must involve the innocent with the guilty. This single consideration should not be inefficient to dispose every peaceable citizen against such a government.

The State Governments are absolutely necessary to the system. Their existence must form a leading principle in the most perfect Constitution we could form. I insist that it never can be the interest or desire of the national legislature to destroy the State Governments. It can derive no advantage from such an event; but, on the contrary, would lose an indispensable support, a necessary aid in executing the laws, and conveying the influence of Gov-

ernment to the doors of the people. The Union is dependent on the will of the State Governments for its chief magistrate and for its Senate. The blow aimed at the members must give a fatal wound to the head, and the destruction of the States must be at once a political suicide. The State establishments of civil and military officers of every description, infinitely surpassing in numbers any possible correspondent establishments in the General Government, will create such an extent and complication of attachments as will ever secure the predilection and support of the people. Whenever, therefore, any infringement of the State Constitutions is meditated, the great body of the people naturally take part with their domestic representatives. Can the General Government withstand such a united opposition? Will the people suffer themselves to be stripped of their privileges? Will they suffer their legislature to be reduced to a shadow and a name? The idea is shocking to common sense.*

Abraham Lincoln.—The Government must prove that it is supreme, and has the power to enforce obedience, or it is a mockery to call it a government. Its power, therefore, to coerce States in rebellion, must be admitted as a fundamental principle of its existence.

Alexander Hamilton.—Whoever considers the populousness and strength of several of these States singly at

---

* Extracts from speech of Alexander Hamilton on Federal Constitution.

the present juncture, and looks forward to what they will become even at the distance of half a century, will at once dismiss as idle and visionary any scheme which aims at regulating them or coercing them in their collective capacities by the General Government. A project of this kind is little less romantic than the monster-taming spirit attributed to the fabulous heroes and demi-gods of antiquity. Even in those Confederacies which have been composed of members smaller than many of our counties, the principle of legislation for sovereign States, supported by military coercion, has never been found effectual. It has rarely been attempted to be employed against the weaker members; and in most instances attempts thus to coerce the refractory and disobedient have been the signals of bloody wars, in which one half the confederacy has displayed its banners against the other. We want no such government as this.*

Abraham Lincoln.—What does government mean, but power and authority over the governed? If the people will not sustain the government, then it is clearly the right of the government to sustain itself. It would be impossible to do this if I am to be bound by the checks and restraints of the Constitution.

Thomas Jefferson.—Government is now taking so steady a course as to show by what road it will pass to

---

† See letter of Alexander Hamilton in No. 16 of "The Federalist."

destruction, to wit: by consolidation first, and then corruption, its necessary consequence. * * A prevalence of the doctrines of consolidation will one day call for reformation or *revolution*. * * I see with the deepest affliction the rapid strides with which the Federal branch of our Government is advancing toward usurpation of all the rights reserved to the States, and the consolidation in itself of all power, foreign and domestic, and that, too, by constructions which, if legitimate, leave no limits to their power.*

George Washington.—It is important that the habit of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truths of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different departments, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasion by the other, has been evinced by experiments an-

---

* Jefferson's Works, by H. A. Washington, vol vii., pp. 223, 293.

cient and modern ; some of them in our own country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the destruction or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation ; for, though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use may at any time yield.*

Daniel Webster.—Through all the history of the contest for liberty, executive power has been regarded as a lion which must be caged. So far from being the object of enlightened popular trust—so far from being considered the natural protector of popular right—it has been dreaded as the great source of its danger.†

Abraham Lincoln.—I repeat, in my own defense, that power is necessary to government, and that the life of every able-bodied man in the country should be placed at its disposal to preserve the integrity of the country. In this view of the case conscription becomes an imperative necessity.

---

* Washington's Farewell Address.

† Works of Webster, vol. iv., p. 134.

Judge Gaston.—What! are the freemen of this country to be drafted from the ranks of the militia, and forced as military machines to wage a war of conquest? I have been accustomed to consider the little share which I have in the Constitution of these United States as my most valuable possession, but I do solemnly declare that if such a doctrine be engrafted into this Constitution, I regard it as without value, and care not for its preservation.*

At this stage of the proceedings there was a sudden pause, which was produced by a remarkable apparition immediately over the head of the Spirit of the Constitution. It was like the handwriting on the wall which struck terror to the heart of Belshazzar. There, inscribed in characters of living light, was the ghostly representation of the immortal document which may be truly said to have given birth to self-government in the new world. It was

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE!

The Spirit of the Constitution, pointing with one hand to the prisoner at the bar, and with the other to the flaming words above his head, read, as with sepulchral voice, the following sentences:

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

---

* Speech of Judge Gaston, delivered in the House of Representatives, Feb., 1814, against a proposed Conscription Act.

HE HAS AFFECTED TO RENDER THE MILITARY INDEPENDENT OF, AND SUPERIOR TO, THE CIVIL POWER.

HE HAS COMBINED, WITH OTHERS, TO SUBJECT US TO A JURISDICTION FOREIGN TO OUR CONSTITUTION, AND UNACKNOWLEDGED BY OUR LAWS ; GIVING HIS ASSENT TO THEIR ACTS OF PRETENDED LEGISLATION.

HE HAS QUARTERED LARGE BODIES OF ARMED TROOPS AMONG US.

HE HAS DEPRIVED US, IN MANY CASES, OF THE BENEFITS OF TRIAL BY JURY.

HE HAS TAKEN AWAY OUR CHARTERS, ABOLISHED OUR MOST VALUABLE LAWS, AND ALTERED, FUNDAMENTALLY, THE POWERS OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

HE HAS SUSPENDED OUR OWN LEGISLATURES.

HE HAS ABDICATED GOVERNMENT HERE, BY DECLARING US OUT OF HIS PROTECTION, AND WAGING WAR AGAINST US.

HE HAS RAVAGED OUR COASTS, BURNT OUR TOWNS, AND DESTROYED THE LIVES OF OUR PEOPLE.

HE HAS INCITED DOMESTIC INSURRECTIONS AGAINST US, AND HAS ENDEAVORED TO BRING ON THE INHABITANTS OF OUR FRONTIERS THE MERCILESS INDIAN [NEGRO] SAVAGES, WHOSE KNOWN RULE OF WARFARE IS AN UNDISPUTED DESTRUCTION OF ALL AGES, SEXES, AND CONDITIONS.

A ghastly pallor overspread the face of the criminal at the bar, and as he looked upon the immortal document he

trembled in every limb. The Spirit of the Constitution then opened a ponderous volume on which was written

THE COMPACT BETWEEN THE STATES!

Then, addressing Abraham Lincoln, he spoke as follows: Did you not on the day of your inauguration take the following oath to support the Constitution, of which I am the disembodied spirit:

I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.

Abraham Lincoln.—I did.

Spirit of the Constitution.—Then you have broken your oath, for you have violated the following articles and provisions:

Art. 1, sec. 9. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

Art. 2. The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Art. 3, sec. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

Art. 4. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated. And no warrant shall issue but upon probable causes, supported

by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or thing to be seized.

Art. 4, sec. 3. No new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State * * without the consent of the Legislature of the State concerned as well as of the Congress.

Art. 5. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or danger; * * nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.

No attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

Congress shall make no law * * abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.

The violations of which you have been guilty are not, however, all embraced within the infractions of these provisions; they extend still further, and if enumerated would swell to a mighty volume the record of the offenses against American freedom of which you have been guilty.

A chorus of voices arose from the assembled spirits of departed statesmen calling for judgment on the head of the parricide.

At this moment the flaming characters of the Declaration of Independence faded away, and in their place appeared these words, in gigantic letters, at the very sight of which the criminal at the bar closed his eyes and recoiled in horror:

"NOBODY HURT."

These characters also faded away, and then there came a long procession of ghostlike figures, whose numbers no man could count.

First in the line was a ghastly array of humanlike forms, but so defaced as to leave but little trace of their original character. It was a fearful spectacle. Some were without their heads, while from that portion of the neck which yet remained the blood streamed afresh, till the whole body seemed bathed in gore. The quivering sinews of the neck were visible, while here and there from veins and arteries shot up jets and sprays of blood.

Then again came others, with their arms wrenched from the sockets ; then again some hobbling along upon a single leg ; while there were others bearing as upon a platform countless trunks of bodies from which heads and limbs had been swept in the dread shock of battle. Mutilation in all its horrid phases was visible : some with their intestines torn out, some with their bodies almost cloven in twain, and some again with the red and bloody flesh only visible where once the eyes had been. Then, in others, the upper part of the skull had been carried off by a cannon ball, and the brains oozed out on that portion of the face that had been left. But this was not all ; for on the shoulders of many were borne masses of undistinguishable human flesh without form or shape. These were the remains of men who, having been wounded, were trampled beneath the hoofs of charging squadrons or the wheels of the death-dealing artillery.

Those formed the first grand division of the ghastly procession. Next came countless myriads of wan and woe-stricken children, whose faces bore the impress of want and destitution, and whose wail of sorrow seemed to pierce

the very clouds. They bore a banner at their head, on which was inscribed the following words:

"We are the Victims of Fanaticism and the Forgotten Objects of a Nation's Gratitude."

This, the second division of the mournful procession, was, if possible, a still sadder sight than the first.

Then came the third and last grand division, which was composed of the widows and other relatives of those whose lives had been offered up as a holocaust at the shrine of Abolitionism. Their faces bore the expression of unutterable woe, while ever and anon a wild cry of despair arose from their midst; and some, turning their gaze toward the conscience-stricken criminal, shrieked as in very agony "GIVE ME BACK MY LOST ONE, RESTORE TO ME MY HUSBAND."

This ended the grand phantasmagory. The criminal looked around the court, and on the faces of the assembled patriots of the past, but as they returned his gaze they, shuddering, averted their heads. Then the Spirit of the Constitution addressing him spoke as follows:

"You have been tried and found wanting. You have been given the opportunity of saving a nation, but you have stabbed it to the heart. You were born in the freest country under the sun, but you have converted it into a despotism. You have violated your oath; you have betrayed the trust reposed in you by the popular will, and to the outraged justice of your countrymen I now leave you,

with the brand of 'TYRANT' upon your brow. They will hereafter inflict upon you that penalty which justice demands, while history will pronounce its judgment upon the infamous acts of your Administration."

When he had pronounced these words of condemnation, the voices of the spirits of the departed rose in one grand chorus of approval.

Thus ended the midnight trial of the last successor of Washington. One by one the spirits disappeared, the brilliant lights went out, and the form of the great culprit was lost in the gloom and darkness. Then all was still, and no sound broke upon the ear but the footfall of the sentry as he kept guard over the Presidential mansion and the Presidential life, and that sentry was in himself the saddest and most melancholy commentary on the condition of the country, that rendered it necessary for its chief magistrate to seek protection and safety in the military power.

NOTICE

The citizens of Carr Place and surrounding neighborhood will not be sorry to learn that they can find at

G. H. SHAW'S

Book and News Depot,

1829 FRANKEIN AV., near NINETEENTH ST.

ALL THE LATEST

Daily, Weekly and Monthly Papers, Magazines, Ladies' and Fashion Books.

KEEPS ON HAND A LARGE ASSORTMENT OF

Stationery, School Books, Maps, Charts, Notions, Pictures, Looking Glasses, Pencils, Albums, Pocket Diaries, Toys, Pocket Books, &c., &c.

PAPER COLLARS of all styles always on hand.

PLEASE GIVE HIM A CALL.

N. B. Highest Cash Price paid for all kinds of second-hand Books.

71 2004.084 02967